

A History of the Indians.

31

their wives and children when the enemies approached and attacked them, the men ranging themselves round the mound for defensive action. Their weapons were the bow and arrow and a wooden club, this last a piece of wood of not quite arm's length, having at the end a round knob about the size of a small child's head and made of very hard wood. Shields they bore made of hardened buffalo leather and presenting a convex surface without, while being hollow within. The curved outer surface they held toward the enemy and before their own breasts and faces, in order that arrows discharged at them, striking the curved surface, would glance off and go to the side. With the left hand they held both shield and bow and with the right they drew the bow and held the arrow. On the above named hills they always had great blocks lying all about, in order that should the enemies attempt to storm the heights these might be rolled upon and among them so as to keep them off. In such attacks both sides usually lost many men, which were often buried in one pit and a great mound of earth raised above them, such as may even now be seen bearing in these days great and mighty trees."

Dogs they likewise possessed in former days, of a kind still to be found in considerable numbers among them. These may be readily distinguished from European dogs, which are now most commonly found among the Indians, especially the Delawares. The ears of Indian dogs rise rigidly from the head and the animals have something of a wolfish nature, for they show their teeth immediately when roused. They will never attack a wolf in the forest, though set on to do so, in this respect, also differing from European dogs. Of their origin their masters can give as little information as of that of the Indians themselves.

The wampum strings of the Indians were formerly made of bits of wood, some white, some black, which were used in connection with embassies and speeches. Belts of wampum were also made. Some few were made of mussel-shells, which were held in the same value among them as gold among the Europeans, for much time was consumed in making even one such string of wampum. When whites came into the country these contrived to make wampum strings which they bartered to the Indians, who used them in place of their wooden wampum, as

436 is even now the case, though they are not accounted as valuable as at one time. Formerly they sometimes used in the place of the belts the wing of some large bird, which is still done among the nations living in remoter regions, where wampum is rare or not to be had at all, where there is no trade with Europeans and some have not even seen wampum. Occasionally, though not often, embassies from such distant people come to the Delawares."

211 A belt is given in confirmation of a message or speech, as
212 they know nothing of writing; an answer given is similarly rati-
648 fied by a belt of the same size. An alliance or league is hardly arranged by two peoples with less than twenty belts of wampum. Often thirty or more are required.

175 As I have digressed from the main matter, viz., the character and nature of the land, I must yet in passing notice how it came about that the Delawares, who had lived near the sea and along the Delaware River, came to Allegheny," where they were strangers and had no claim to the land. Some eighty years ago, more or less, the whites being already in the country and many of the Delawares having moved far up the Delaware River, a party of these Indians, with the cousin of a chief as captain, went on a hunt. They were attacked by Cherokees, at that time dwelling along the Allegheny and its branches, and some of them were killed, the captain, a cousin of the chief, among the rest. The survivors fled to their homes, related to the chief what had happened and suggested that he give them more men in order that they might avenge themselves on their enemies. The chief, however, put them off and did not let them go, even though he sorrowed over the loss they had suffered. After the lapse of a year the chief sent out several hundred men to avenge themselves on the Cherokees (the Delawares at that time already having European arms). When they arrived at the enemies' first towns along the Allegheny, they found no one, for all had fled at the news of the Delawares' approach. The latter pursued, the Cherokees constantly retreating until they were overtaken at the great island" at the fork where Pittsburg is now situated. Perceiving that the Delawares were strong in num-

270

253. The reader will not fail to note that Zeisberger, writing at the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century continually pictures the Indian as he once was; his tenses are largely past tenses and he shows the contemporary Indian as a degenerate. It will be remembered that Pontiac's appeal to the red race in 1763 was for regeneration, for the abandonment of the practices learned of the white man and readoption of the lost arts of forest life which were rapidly being forgotten. Lack of respect for old age was one of the important signs of racial degeneration. Does this apply to the red race only? Heckewelder's chapter on "Respect for the Aged," pictures the red man in the primitive state but his tenses are present tenses, though writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century. *History*, 152-158.

254. Heckewelder states that when parents negotiate a marriage the bridegroom's mother acts as negotiatrix. The latter "begins her duties by taking a good leg of venison, or bear's meat . . . to the house where the bride dwells, not forgetting to mention, that her son has killed it." The bride's mother soon brings in return some fruit or handwork produced by her daughter. If both the children expressed themselves favorably towards the respective gifts, the matter was quickly arranged; if not, the affair was at an end.

386

255. A Yellow ochre, found near the Muskingum, when burnt, made a rich red paint, which Indians came many miles to obtain. Vermillion River in Ohio derived its name from the clay there obtained for painting; the same was true of Paint Creek.

256. Figures of animals being most commonly used, especially the turtle, deer, bear and wolf.

257. Heckewelder records: "The women make use of vermilion in painting themselves for dances, but they are very careful and circumspect in applying the paint, so that it does not offend or create suspicion in their husbands; there is a mode of painting which is left entirely to loose women and prostitutes." *History*, 190.

600

258. The Revolutionary war.

259. The Delaware leader often called King Newcomer, from his capital Newcomerstown or Gekelemukpechunk, Ohio, who refused to attend Bouquet's treaty in 1764 at Coshocton. A generous friend of the Moravians. See De Schweinitz, *Life and Times of Zeisberger*, 366, *seq.*

260. The writer speaks from notable experience, the archives of the Six Nations, than which no Indian archives were of equal moment, were deposited in Zeisberger's house at Onondaga during his residence at that mission. See *Bethlehem Diary*, Aug. 2, 1755.

261. 4 s. 4 d.

• [436]

262. The primitive wampum was made of pieces of wood variously stained with different colors.

263. Containing four, eight or twelve fathoms of wampum.

264. A most interesting fact perhaps noted by no other authority.

THE HUNTERS	97
distributed, and the speaker says, "We will now pray twelve times," so twelve times they cry "Ho-o-o!" as a prayer. Then they feast, using musselshells from the river as spoons, and finally the speaker dismisses them with the words, "This is all for tonight; tomorrow night we will meet again." DEPARTURE OF THE HUNTERS When the next night arrives, approximately the same performance is repeated; and the same the next, with little of interest occurring during the day; but on the fourth morning, the leader who has selected a man for chief hunter, gives him a yard of wampum as pay. This master of the hunt then selects as many assistants as he wants, and he and his crew all gather in the Big House, where they are served about noon with a feast prepared for the occasion by the women of the camp, and the attendants tie sacks of the food to the hunters' saddles. When they have finished eating, they	264 796^x 224 796^x (436)•
AND MONOGRAPHS	7

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
 NM7 Delaware NM7
 Lenape

PAYMENT OF ATTENDANTS	107
go back to their seats and cry "<i>Ho-o-ol</i>" twelve times. Then the attendants serve the last feast. Two women then go around with wampum in a wooden bowl, giving everyone two or three beads. PAYMENT OF ATTENDANTS Then the attendants, three men and three women, stand in a row and receive six yards of wampum on one string, which they hold in their hands, the first in the row holding the end of the string, which stretches along from one to the other. Then the chief says: "We thank you attendants of this meeting for your kindness in sweeping our Temple for these twelve nights, and the attention and care you have given. We have heard our old parents say that, if you sweep this Meeting House twelve different times, you will sweep up to where our great Father is, as he is up in the twelfth Heaven above the earth." The attendants then circle about the fires and go out to the cooking fireplace, where they divide the wampum, taking	796* [436]•
AND MONOGRAPHS	

6:Harrington E-5 (1907-1910)1921
 NM7 Delaware NM7
 Lenape

PAYMENT OF OFFICERS	111
The attendants have a table near the tent of one of the woman a'ckas, and here they eat.	796^x [264]
VALUATION OF WAMPUM For ceremonial purposes the wampum (white) is held at one cent a bead, one hundred to the dollar. Before the meeting the people give a yard or so apiece, if they are able, to show their appreciation and to be prayed for, or subscribe money for its purchase and for the other things needed at the meeting. The wampum is afterward redeemed at the same rate and is kept to use again.	436● 796^x
INDIAN COMMENTS ON THE CEREMONY Some explanations and remarks concerning the annual ceremony, as furnished by the Indians themselves, may prove of interest here. Julius Fouts (or Fox), the interpreter, remarks: "When the Delawares complete this meeting, then they claim they have worshiped everything on this earth. God gave the Powers Above authority to	796^x [115]
AND MONOGRAPHS	

CHAPTER XXI.

CONCERNING THE NATURE OF THE COINS AND MONEY OF THE SAVAGE PEOPLE, WHAT THEY ARE MADE OF AND WHAT THEY ARE WORTH.

*The moneys of the savages are of three kinds*⁴³⁶ of oblong stones, with holes drilled through them, and threaded on strings, that they can be measured by fathoms according to their value and use.¹ The sewan of the Renappies, that is the money of our river savages, [is of 2 kinds]; one kind black-blue,² the other kind white. But the third kind, which comes from the Black and White Minquas,³ is red. These red stones and the black-blue are valued in the place of gold; three of these stones are worth one *styver* or one *öre* silver money. But the white stones are counted as silver, and 6 pieces of them are worth one *styver* or 1 *öre* silver money.⁴ In size they are about the length of a wheat kernel and somewhat thicker; but the largest, as thick as

¹ Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 904 ff.

² *Swartblid*, black-blue, dark blue. "Their white they call *Wompam* (which signifies white): their black *Suckauhook* (*Sacki* signifying black)." Williams, *Key*, 130.

³ See above, Chapt. V, note 40.

⁴ "The Indians are ignorant of Europe's Coyne; yet they have given a name to ours, and call it *Monash* from the English money.

"Their owne is of two sorts; one white, which they make of the stem or stocke of the Periwinkle, which they call, *Metcauhock*, when all the shell is broken off: and of this sort six of their small Beads (which they make with holes to string the bracelets) are currant with the English for a Penny.

"The second is black, inclining to blew, which is made of the shell of a fish, which some English call *Hena*, *Poquaauhock*, and of this sort three make an English penny.

"They that live upon the Sea side generally make of it, and as many make as will." Williams, *Key*, 128.

●436 a thick straw, and the length in proportion to their thickness; larger or smaller, they are not used. [They are] very smooth and even at the ends. There is also a streak on them like copper color, which the kernel by nature contains, from which the stones are made; namely of the kernel which runs whirl-like inside of the whooping cough bowls, which the wet nurses use to scrape off and give the little children for whooping cough, which is found in great abundance in New Sweden, both white, black and red.⁵ Of this mentioned kernel [327] the savages turn and grind these stones and money, and special savages are designated and appointed for this, who make this money, and one person is not able to make more than about 6 to 8 *styvers* a day.⁶

435 In valuing these moneys we also count an ell of red, black-blue sewan for 1 ducat and 1 ell of white sewan for one *riksdaler*. But otherwise they are mostly reckoned in Dutch florins and *styvers*, as stated above, one florin at 20 *styvers*.⁷ These⁸ moneys are as well made as any glass cutter could cut them of glass, cut and drilled through at their edges.⁹ When the money through old use has been

⁵ A nature medicine based on the superstitious belief that these scrapings will "cure the cough."

⁶ Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 905.

⁷ See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 41.

⁸ Lindeström has *Äscilke*, which.

⁹ *Uthi sijne kanter afskärande och genomdrillande*. The passage is obscure. *Afskärande* and *genomdrillande* are present participles and perhaps Lindeström means *af skärande och genomdrillande*, in which case the passage would read: These moneys are as well made as any glass cutter could cut them of glass at the edges, through cutting and drilling.

In this connection Williams says: "Before they had awle blades from Europe, they made shift to bore this their shell money with stones." *Key*, 130.

COINS AND MONEY

231

worn at the edges, that they do not, like glass, fall⁴³⁵ close together¹⁰ on the cord, then the savages will not accept them for good; wherefore he tests them thus, that he takes the whole cord on which the money is threaded and strokes them over his nose. If nothing obstructs the nose,¹¹ but glides over like smooth glass, then he accepts the money as good. But if something offers obstruction, he rejects them. Now all the money is not equally large and thick, but some larger and some smaller, and is, in buying, variously collected, especially when one exchanges and trades in *styver* quantities; wherefore the one who owns them must closely see to it, that in threading them again he arranges those [together] which are able to neatly and well correlate on the cord, in case he wants to get rid of them.¹²

When we want to count them by *styvers* by⁴³⁶ means of the thumb, which is indeed the manner [204] of the savages, we have for this a certain measure from the end of the thumb nail to the first joint of the thumb. Thus the money is divided and separated according to this [method], that on this length go exactly 6 stones [of] white [sewan], that is as much as one *styver* or one *öre* silver money, and 6 stones [of] red or black-blue [sewan which], are worth 2 *styvers* or 2 *öre* silver money.

The money hanks the Christians carry in bags.¹³ When he¹⁴, wishes to trade and has counted the

¹⁰ Falla tätt tillhopa.

¹¹ Tager då inthet smoth näsan. The meaning is: If no obstruction is felt as the money passes over the nose, etc.

¹² In case he is to be able to use them in trading.

¹³ Byröckier, poke, pocket, bag.

¹⁴ Lindeström uses the singular, han.

● money off the string and then makes a knot on the string; the purse is thereby tied up.¹⁶ Ducats and riksdaler are not valid among the savages,¹⁶ but [are accepted] among the Christians and on the foreign merchant vessels.

The Hollander in this as well as in other [things] has shown his [desire of] profit and greediness, thinking that he would, through the money of the savages, acquire a large capital and riches, began to export the whooping-cough shell to Holland and had these monies made in the savage manner. Accordingly [a quantity valued at] a barrel of gold¹⁷ was made of it, which they brought to the West Indies to trade with. When the savages examined these monies, they recognized that it was not their handiwork and would not accept and take them for good and valid. Thus the Hollanders have done all their work and labor in vain.

¹⁶ *Nå är pennningpungen der medh igenknuten.* The idea seems to be this: when the Christian has counted a certain number of "stones" and removed them from the string to pay for certain articles, a knot is made on the string to keep the rest of the money from coming off,—the purse is thereby tied up. Lindeström considers the string as the purse, rather than the bag in which the money banks are carried.

¹⁷ Swedish money never became general among the Indians.

¹⁸ *Tunna guld* (ton of gold), barrel of gold, was a definite measure of value, and was worth about \$30,000 in our money of today. In Portuguese West Africa the natives speak of a sack of money (30 Escudos).

DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

63

son, the same form (*tilluun*) occurs.¹ The same term for the decimal 801 occurs in cognate form throughout practically all the northern and 192 eastern Algonkian tongues.² Is it reasonable then to consider the form *atax* as an Algonkian numeral so ancient as to antedate the dispersion of the Algonkian languages?

WAMPUM AS A SYMBOL.—In Delaware ceremonial, social and even 436 economic procedure, wampum played an outstanding part. It is referred to in the text as "our heart." The subject, however, calls for more extended treatment than will be given it here. Wampum is designated by the term *ke'k'*, a vocable which is peculiar to Delaware and which does not submit to philological analysis. Despite the uniformity of beliefs and practices involving the use of wampum beads throughout the eastern and central portions of the Algonkian area of distribution, the Delawares seem to have aberrated from employing the generic term *woba'bi*³ that we find in the speech of the other Wabanaki populations. The economic and symbolic functions of the peculiarly portentous medium of exchange I have dealt with in separate publication, to which I shall refer, as far as it deals with the Algonkian peoples of the northeast.⁴ And the pecuniary aspect of wampum has been exaggerated in early writings dealing with the eastern Indians. To the Delawares wampum stood forth in the light of a covenant. It represented, and still does, a magical power capable of annulling the affects of latent poisonous influences that might pass between persons who exchange gifts or who enter into the transfer of property. I might even use the terms spiritual antiseptic in referring to the agency of the sacred beads in transactions of a personal nature as well as in negotiations between political bodies. Going a step further we see how the Indians regarded the belts and strings of wampum which were transferred between parties entering into negotiations as the necessary pledges of sincerity of spirit and purity of purpose.⁵

In the account of the annual ceremony a glance at the procedures 436 shows how step by step wampum is brought into use as a medium of 796 compensation carrying a spiritual valuation. But its monetary exchange value in Delaware culture is extremely low, hence the statements of the Indians themselves concerning its non-intrinsic rating are more clearly understood. The attendants we observe, whose office is to prepare the Big House, attend to materials such as food, fire,

¹ Manuscript in Archives of the American Philosophical Society of Phila., Indian Vocabularies p. 17.

² The wide diffusion of the cognates of *telen* is shown in the following instances, Wabanaki, *mede'la*, Montagnais-Naskapi, *kote'l-nu*.

³ Literally "white string," the source of English "wampum."

⁴ F. G. Speck, "The Functions of Wampum among the Northeastern Algonkian," *Mem. Amer. Anth. Ass.*, vol. vi, No. 1, (1919).

⁵ F. G. Speck, "The Penn Wampum Belts" Leaflet No. 3, *Mus. Amer. Ind.*, (Heye Foundation), New York (1925).

436 sweeping, and general order of the premises receive their pay in
796 wampum beads; the pecuniary value of which amounts to hardly more than a few cents. The drummers, the singers, the dance leaders, the reciters of visions are in their turn rewarded with small donations of wampum at the conclusion of their performances. This is a purifying gift rather than a pecuniary payment, one entirely out of proportion to the worth of service rendered.

[437] The worshipers of the Big House also offer their donations toward the ceremony in strings of wampum, giving them to the Master-of-Ceremonies, saying; *cela'yu'ni ndeli' witeinge'n note'ha'n* "This here is how much I help from my heart!" The sacrosanctity of wampum is furthermore emphasized by the religious rule that wampum should always be given when something has been received, even when only a gift from a friend. In the esteem of the natives it becomes a most potent medicine. Failure to carry out the rules governing the bestowing of wampum would bring sickness upon the receiver of property through exchange or the receiver of a gift. This is especially [757] true in connection with the Delaware practice of medicine, because medicine although destined to heal can double upon itself and become a poison when not sanctified by the conveyance of wampum.¹

436 In Delaware phraseology "wampum is our heart." In exchanges of
425 vendable property, even extending to gifts between friends, there
751 lurked a potency for evil that might develop in who knows what quarter, producing malice or resentment among the parties concerned. It could even result in bodily poison to one or both. It is strictly correct to state that in the attitude of the eastern Indians toward such affairs the transfer of shell money from the hands of the receiver of a gift or a purchase to those of the giver performed the function of medicine.

436 The wampum protected them against spiritual infection and its
755 manifestation in the body in the form of sickness. Wampum was a purifier, purging the transaction from latent evil force. And should evil have leaked through the transaction the wampum would function as a purgative for its keeper. The same wampum was a spiritual emblem believed by them to have come originally from supernatural sources and embodying within it profound supernatural dynamics.

436 We can understand why a compact sealed with the transfer of
439 wampum was as sacred as one sworn to under oath by Europeans. It was such an attitude toward exchange and currency that our colonial forebears encountered when they bartered for land and peltry with the aborigines of New England and the Middle Atlantic States. The colonists handed out their exchange with the European notion of in-

¹ I am of course speaking of Delaware therapeutics exclusively, although something along the same line may be said, by those who are inclined toward a critical attitude, of civilized medical practices.

DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

65

trinsic value, receiving the return with the native idea of spiritual and supernatural interplay.

436
439

The Dutch in buying Manhattan for 60 guilders worth of trinkets undoubtedly drove a shrewd bargain with the Delawares. But who has told us that in the eyes of these same Delawares the currency was the symbol not the value equivalent of the relinquishment of their hereditary rights to the land as well as its products? This ridiculous price was to them a symbol over which they transferred their goodwill and spiritual power over forces dormant in the land, clearing away the poison that might have been engendered by the inequality of value in the transfer. Here lay the basis of conflict unreconcilable between the two culture spheres that met, bartered, and quarreled, in the settlement of the Atlantic seaboard. The one backed by unnumbered, metal-armed, aggressive and adventurous men from a tumultuous old world as against a few thousand stone-age, passive, hunter-farmers.

There are deep associative meanings here underlying Algonkian and Iroquois wampum institutions. The problems of their origin, development and inter-relation are to be considered as a research problem of the future.

CEREMONIAL EQUIPMENT.—The material equipment of the Big House ceremony is mentioned with some detail in that part of the text which deals with preparation. The objects whose use is called for in various stages of the rite have a particular sacredness in the eyes of the Delawares. Between the occasions when the ceremony is performed they are carefully kept in the charge of some responsible chiefs or members of the council. Some of the objects required in the performance have been attached to it for lengthy periods of time. It has even been thought that they might have been brought from the east during the course of migration. This attitude of reverence, however, has not prevented the escape of specimens, representing practically all of the objects whose use is prescribed in the performance, from the hands of their custodians to find their way into the collections of eastern museums, even into the possession of private collectors.¹ In some cases faithful reproductions of the cherished articles have been made by the Indians to serve the purposes of demonstration. Therefore, utilizing the materials in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City, and the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, who have generally pro-

¹ The temptation to professional curio-hunters to sweep Indian reservations clean of native manufactures results in turning topsy-turvy their cultural life. It even comes from experts whose desire for the possession of rare specimens is sometimes greater than their desire for the advancement of knowledge. The existence of such bitter and senseless rivalries among collectors is responsible for the demolition of creeds and ceremonies now too far gone to study or to understand.

DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

89

tion it lies extended. And the doors are opposite each other. Right here in the direction of the sun-set, it is the rule that the Bringer-in come, bringing the ceremony into the House. 539^x 773 796

Everything was provided for the Delawares in the Gamwing. There was also wampum supplied by rule, it is said. Each person gives one shoulder-length for helping to prepare this food and also for when they pay the Attendants. And, so it is said, the Attendant is pleasing to him our father the Great Spirit, even the Creator. 539^x 773 796 436

When the workers¹ purify everything,² these women with the Attendants, it can not be conceived how sacredly valuable those labors are. It has been destined for the Delaware that that very wampum he uses becomes his heart. And moreover when purchasing food, or when anything of value is bought, he employs wampum. And then a quantity is gathered. Here at the left side of the House where the Bringer-in sits, at a certain height above the ground, there a white cloth is hung along the wall. There is suspended all the wampum, as much as has been gathered together each day over again.³ [783]

¹ The word means "to labor" in the sense of doing something for oneself. Corresponding to the term *alo'ke* (Penobscot, Wabanaki) meaning "work," the Delaware denotes working for someone else by *naloka'tke* "I am hired by someone to work."

² The clean, pure character of the Attendants or "workers" diffuses spiritual purity over all those attending the ceremony inside the Big House and strengthens them for the ensuing year.

³ The supply of wampum is renewed each day by those who through spiritual impulses contribute their treasure. They are blessed in proportion. It should be noted that no one is allowed to sell anything at the festival except the Attendants. Outside on the grounds at a distance from the Big House refreshments can be sold for money. But inside the Big House wampum must be used for exchange. In the present ceremonial transactions between the Attendants and the worshippers two or three beads pass for five cents. Some thirty or more years ago, however, when wampum was more plentiful it passed at one bead for a cent. [431]

And it was said, long ago in the beginning at the Gamwing, inside the Big House, they built a great sweat-house. They heated rock and put it inside that sweat-house. There the shamans¹ crawled in. And water was used here for pouring upon the rocks. That was called testing with heat. Everyone going in there and staying for any length of time was said to be a great man. Some person would be exhausted in a little while for which reason they took him out. Those enduring it for a considerable length of time, those are the great men.² 539^x 773 796 554 785

¹ There were two classes of shamans. Some had healing power and are called *nenpi'kew* "sweating doctor." The men who recite their visions in the Big House are also *mete'lnu* in the Delaware classification, their description being *kaci'lasu webendjikan'yo* "great men who perform in a single file [like the vertebral articulation of men and animals]." See page 84.

² Amounting to a title denoting "prophet, reciter of vision, healer, priest all in one."

DELAWARE INDIAN BIG HOUSE CEREMONY

129

Two Attendants sweep clean the House.¹ The man goes to the far 539^x
 end from whence he begins to sweep, while the woman begins to sweep 796
 from the door. Turkey wings are used when sweeping. Both Attendants finish sweeping at the same time when they arrive at the door and then for a while put away the wings.

Now it is permissible for anyone to go out, and quickly to come back inside because in a little while then again² will begin to stir those tortoise shell rattles, our Grandfathers.³

When they have come to where sits the next following Reciter-leader, or to anyone else feeling able to recite a vision and lead, it is permitted by the rule that he shake the rattle and, if desired, recite and lead.⁴

Recitation of Vision by Wita'panoxwe⁵

"You, my kindred, are all acquainted with where I spent my childhood, at Raccoon⁶ Creek, where lived my defunct parents. Once upon 539^x
 a time, then, my deceased mother scolded me. She drove me away be- 796
 cause I was continually looking at books. That is why she scolded me. 787
 She told me, "Go away somewhere into the wilderness, since it seems that all you do, you look at books." And she said, "For all the days to come you will be poor because the book stands in your way. Never will anything be revealed to you in a vision because you live like a white man."

Truly, my kindred, very greatly this matter impressed me concerning my deceased parents. And thereupon I began walking slowly there towards the direction where the sun sets, toward the timber. More

¹ Performing the symbolical rite of clearing away obstacles from the floor of the White Path or dancing path along which the worshippers are traveling to the abode of the Great Spirit.

² It is not permitted at other times during the performance to leave the Big House (see also Harrington I, p. 90).

³ This expressive phrase represents the aimle, previously mentioned, of the tortoise carrying the earth, the ceremony, and life on a west-ward course. As the tortoise rattles are passed from one Reciter to another as an invitation to perform they go the entire length of the White Path. When they have been around the building and all the Reciters have carried out their programs the session of the ceremony is over for the night. The tortoise figures as the "moving spirit" in the Big House.

⁴ This is the occasion to be seized by someone who has had a spirit-revelation but who has not recited it before.

⁵ The narrator of the text is here anticipating himself in the rôle he is to play at the next Annual Ceremony to be attended. He had recited and led the singers on former occasions of worship, but only in that part of the ceremony, during the twelfth night, known as Astehowmwin. This stage of the ceremony, which will be described in its proper place (pages 153, 166), is the occasion provided for women reciters and men who have not arrived at spiritual maturity. Within the last year or so Wita'panoxwe, as his hair has begun to show signs of gray, feels himself called upon to advance into taking an active major part in the ceremony. After much thought and mental preparation on his part we see here the results of his composition in the relation that follows.

⁶ The Raccoon, na'honam, figures in the economic life of the tribe in a way never to be forgotten, for the term kwut-i na'honam, "one raccoon," denotes twenty-five cents in currency in Delaware, a reminder of the time back in the east when in the fur trade a raccoon skin was worth a shilling. Other tribes in the north traded the beaver (Cree, Montagnais) and the skunk skin (Mistassini) on the same basis. 1337